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OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE UNITED STATES AND LIBERIA.

Act of March 3, 1819, Relative to the Slave Trade.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized, whenever he shall deem it expedient, to cause any of the armed vessels of the United States, to be employed to cruise on any of the coasts of the United States, or territories thereof, or of the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, where he may judge attempts may be made to carry on the slave trade by citizens or residents of the United States, in contravention of the acts of Congress prohibiting the same and to instruct and direct the commanders of all armed vessels of the United States to seize, take, and bring into any ports of the United States, all ships or vessels of the United States, wheresoever found, which may have taken on board, or which may be intended for the purpose of taking on board, or of transporting, or may have transported, any negro, mulatto, or person of color, in violation of any of the provisions of the act entitled "An Act in addition to an act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States, from and after the first day of January, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight, and to repeal certain parts of the same," or any other act or acts prohibiting the traffic in slaves, to be proceeded against according to law: And the proceeds of all ships and vessels, their tackle, apparel, furniture, and the goods and effects, on board of them, which shall be so seized, prosecuted, and condemned, shall be divided equally between the United States and the officers and men who shall seize, take or bring, the same into port for condemnation, whether such seizure be made by an armed vessel of the United States or Revenue Cutter thereof: And the same shall be distributed in like manner as is provided by law for the distribution of prizes taken from an enemy. *Provided,* That the officers and men be entitled to one-half of the proceeds aforesaid, shall safe-keep every negro, mulatto, or person of color, found on board of any ship or vessel so seized, taken, or brought into port, for condemnation, and shall deliver

every such negro, mulatto, or person of color, to the marshal of the district into which they may be brought, if into a port of the United States, or, if elsewhere, to such person or persons as shall be lawfully appointed by the President of the United States, in the manner hereinafter directed, transmitting to the President of the United States, as soon as may be after such delivery, a descriptive list of such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color that he may give directions for the disposal of them. *And provided further*, That the commanders of such commissioned vessels, do cause to be apprehended, and taken into custody, every person found on board of such vessel, so seized and taken being of the officers or crew thereof, and him or them convey, as soon as conveniently may be, to the civil authority of the United States to be proceeded against in due course of law, in some of the districts thereof.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient for the safe-keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, as may be so delivered and brought within their jurisdiction: And to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents, for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, delivered from on board vessels, seized in the prosecution of the slave trade, by commanders of the United States armed vessels.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted*, That a bounty of \$25.00 be paid to the officers and crew of the commissioned vessels of the United States, or Revenue Cutters for each and every negro, mulatto, or person of color, who shall have been, as hereinbefore provided, delivered to the marshal or agent duly appointed to receive them: And the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required to pay or cause to be paid to such officers and crews, or their agents, the aforesaid bounty, for each person delivered as aforesaid.

Sec. 4. *Be it further enacted*, That when any citizen, or other person, shall lodge information, to the attorney for the district of any state or territory, as the case may be, that any negro, mulatto, person of color, has been imported therein, contrary to the provisions of the acts in such case made and provided, it shall be the duty of the said attorney forthwith to commence a prosecution by information; and process shall issue against the person charged with holding such negro, negroes, mulatto, mulattoes, person or persons of color, so alleged to be imported contrary

to the provisions of the acts aforesaid: And if, upon the return of the process executed, it shall be ascertained, by the verdict of the jury that such negro, negroes, mulatto, mulattoes, person or persons of color, have been brought in, contrary to the true intent and meanings of the acts in such cases made and provided, then the court shall direct the marshal of the said districts to take the said negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, into his custody, for safe keeping, subject to the orders of the President of the United States; and the informer or informers, who shall have lodged the information, shall be entitled to receive, over and above the portions of the penalties accruing to him or them by the provisions of the acts in such case made and provided, a bounty of \$50.00, for each and every negro, mulatto, or person of color, who shall have been delivered into the custody of the marshal; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and required to pay, or cause to be paid, the aforesaid bounty, upon the certificate of the clerk of the court for the district where the prosecution may have been had, with the seal of office thereto annexed, stating the number of negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, so delivered.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That it shall be the duty of the commander of any armed vessel of the United States, whenever he shall make any capture under the provisions of this act, to bring the vessel and her cargo, for adjudication, into some of the ports of the states or territory to which such vessels, so captured, shall belong, if he can ascertain the same; if not, then to be sent into any convenient port of the United States.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That all such acts, or parts of acts as may be repugnant to the provisions of this act, shall be, and the same are hereby repealed.

Sec. 7. *And be it further enacted*, That a sum not exceeding one hundred thousand dollars, be, and the same is hereby appropriated to carry this law into effect.

Approved, March 3, 1819.

Message of President Monroe Concerning Settlement of Captured Slaves in Africa — December 17, 1819.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

Some doubt being entertained respecting the true intent and meaning of the act of the last session entitled "An act in addition to the acts pro-

hibiting the slave trade," as to the duties of the agents to be appointed on the coast of Africa, I think it proper to state the interpretation which has been given of the act and the measures adopted to carry it into effect, that Congress may, should it be deemed advisable amend the same before further proceeding is had under it.

The obligation to instruct the commanders of all our armed vessels to seize and bring into port all ships or vessels of the United States where-soever found, having on board any negro, mulatto, or person of color, in violation of former acts for the suppression of the slave trade, being imperative, was executed without delay. No seizures have yet been made, but as they were contemplated by the law, and might be presumed, it seemed proper to make the necessary regulations applicable to such seizures for carrying the several provisions of the act into effect.

It is enjoined on the Executive to cause all negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color, who may be taken under the act to be removed to Africa. It is the obvious import of the law that none of the persons thus taken should remain within the United States, and no place other than the coast of Africa being designated, their removal or delivery, whether carried from the United States or landed immediately from the vessels in which they were taken, was supposed to be confined to that coast. No settlement or station being specified, the whole coast was thought to be left open for the selection of a proper place at which the persons thus taken should be delivered. The Executive is authorized to appoint one or more agents residing there to receive such persons, and \$100,000 are appropriated for the general purposes of the law.

On due consideration of the several sections of the act, and of its humane policy, it was supposed to be the intention of Congress that all the persons above described who might be taken under it and landed in Africa should be aided in their return to their former homes, or in their establishment at or near the place where landed. Some shelter and food would be necessary for them there as soon as landed, let their subsequent disposition be what it might. Should they be landed without such provision having been previously made, they might perish.

It was supposed, by the authority given to the Executive to appoint agents residing on that coast, that they should provide such shelter and food, and perform the other beneficent and charitable offices contemplated by the act. The coast of Africa having been little explored, and no persons residing there who possessed the requisite qualifications to entitle them to the trust being known to the Executive, to none such

could it be committed. It was believed that citizens only who would go hence well instructed in the views of their Government and zealous to give them effect would be competent to these duties, and that it was not the intention of the law to preclude their appointment. It was obvious that the longer these persons should be detained in the United States in the hands of the marshals the greater would be the expense, and that for the same term would the main purpose of the law be suspended. It seemed, therefore to be incumbent on me to make the necessary arrangements for carrying this act into effect in Africa in time to meet the delivery of any persons who might be taken by the public vessels and landed there under it.

On this view of the policy and sanctions of the law it has been decided to send a public ship to the coast of Africa with two such agents, who will take with them tools and other implements necessary for the purposes above mentioned. To each of these agents a small salary has been allowed — \$1,500 to the principal and \$1,200 to the other. All our public agents on the coast of Africa receive salaries for their services, and it was understood that none of our citizens possessing the requisite qualifications would accept these trusts, by which they would be confined to parts the least frequented and civilized, without a reasonable compensation. Such allowance therefore seemed to be indispensable to the execution of the act. It is intended also to subject a portion of the sum appropriated to the order of the principal agent for the special objects above stated, amounting in the whole, including the salaries of the agents for one year, to rather less than one-third of the appropriation. Special instructions will be given to these agents, defining in precise terms their duties in regard to the persons thus delivered to them, the disbursement of the money by the principal agent, and his accountability for the same. They will, also have power to select the most suitable place on the coast of Africa at which all persons who may be taken under this act shall be delivered to them, with an express injunction to exercise no power founded on the principal of colonization or other power than that of performing the benevolent offices above recited by the permission and sanction of the existing government under which they may establish themselves. Orders will be given to the commander of the public ship in which they will sail to cruise along the coast to give the more complete effect to the principal object of the act.

JAMES MONROE.

Constitution of the Commonwealth of Liberia.

Whereas it has pleased a Gracious Providence to favour with success, the benevolent efforts of the citizens of the United States of America, to plant Christian Colonies of free colored people, on the western coast of Africa, in order to lay a durable foundation for their future Union, Freedom and Independence, the following Constitution of Government is ordained and established.

ARTICLE I.

Sec. 1. The several colonial settlements planted in Liberia, on the principles of the American Colonization Society, are hereby declared to be united under one Government, to be styled the Government of Liberia.

Sec. 2. The Colony of Monrovia and the several Settlements appurtenant thereto, shall make one Colony, under the common title of "Monrovia;" the Colonies at Cape Palmas and Bassa Cove shall maintain their present denomination, or receive such other as the associated Colonization Societies of New York and Pennsylvania, and the Maryland State Society, may hereafter respectively bestow on them.

ARTICLE II. *Of the Legislative Power.*

Sec. 1. There shall be a Legislature, entitled the Congress of Liberia, which shall hold one session, at least, in every two years, at the town of Monrovia; or at such other place as the Congress shall from time to time appoint. The first meeting shall be held on the first Monday in December next following the ratification of this Constitution; and all succeeding meetings shall commence at such periods as the Congress may prescribe.

Sec. 2. The Congress shall consist of the Chief Executive Magistrate of each of the Colonies of Monrovia, Cape Palmas, and Bassa Cove, and of five Delegates, to be elected by the Legislative councils of the said Colonies, in such manner as they may respectively provide, in the proportion of three for the Colony of Monrovia, and one for each of the other Colonies; and the said delegates shall receive for their services, such compensation as their respective councils may determine and pay.

Sec. 3. The Governor of Monrovia shall preside over the deliberations of the Congress; and in case of his absence, death, resignation, or inability, such one of the other Colonial Governors as a majority of the delegates present may elect. In the absence of those Governors, a President, for the time being, shall be, in like manner, chosen from the delegates present.

Sec. 4. It shall be the duty of the President to call the members to order, and to preserve decorum in the debates and proceedings of Congress, according to such rules as they may adopt for their government. In his absence from the chair, for a period not exceeding one day, he may call on any other member to preside in his place. He shall be entitled to vote in all cases in which he is not personally interested, and shall, moreover, give the casting vote whenever the Congress is equally divided on any question.

Sec. 5. The presence of a majority of all the members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, but a less number may adjourn from day to day till a quorum be formed, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of the absent delegates, in such manner, and in such penalties as the Congress may provide.

Sec. 6. The Congress shall be the sole judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of the several delegates thereto, may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly conduct; and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a delegate. Shall keep a fair journal of its proceedings, and from time to time, publish the same; except such parts thereof as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members, on any question, shall by the desire of any two or more members be entered on the journal. They shall, by the first opportunity, transmit a copy of their entire journal to the American Colonization Society; they shall appoint a recording Secretary and such other officers as may be necessary to the transaction of business and fix their respective compensation, which shall be paid by the several Colonies on a ratable assessment, according to their respective representation.

In all cases except treason, felony, and breach of peace, the delegates shall be privileged from arrest, during their attendance in Congress, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate therein, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

Sec. 7. No person shall be chosen as a delegate from any Colony who shall be under twenty-five years of age at the period of his election; nor unless he be, at such period, a citizen of Liberia, and have been an inhabitant of the Colony for which he is elected, for at least six months prior to his election.

Sec. 8. Congress shall have power to prescribe uniform rules of naturalization for all persons of colour, provided that all persons now citizens of any Colony of Liberia, shall continue to be so, and that all

coloured persons emigrating from the United States of America, or any district or territory thereof, with the approbation, or under the sanction of the American Colonization Society; or of any Auxiliary Society or the same, or of any State Colonization Society of the United States, which shall have assented to this Constitution of Government, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizens of Liberia; except the same shall have been lost or forfeited by conviction of some crime.

Sec. 9. They shall have power to fix the standard of weights and measures, until the Congress of the United States of America shall have prescribed some standard of the same, when the American, shall become the standard of Liberia.

Sec 10 They shall have power to settle the value of any African money, in the metallic currency of Liberia, which currency shall, in all other respects, be the same with that of the United States.

Sec 11. In time of war or insurrection, or of imminent danger thereof, they shall have power to emit bills and to borrow money on the credit of Liberia, under such restrictions and limitations as may be provided by the American Colonization Society; and at such times they shall have power to provide a treasury for the common defence, to appoint a treasurer and such other officers or agents as may be necessary to the collection and disbursements of the public money, no part of which shall be appropriated but by an act, or resolution of Congress; the treasury shall be supplied by a ratable assessment of such sums, as may be necessary, upon the several Colonies; which, until a more equitable mode can be provided, shall be in proportion to the number of delegates, in the Congress, elected by each Colony; such sums, to be assessed, collected, and paid by, or in pursuance of the acts, or orders, of the respective Legislative Councils of the Colonies, and all expenses incurred for the common defence shall be chargeable upon and paid out of the said treasury.

Sec. 12. The Congress shall have power to declare war, in self-defence, and make rules concerning captures on land and water; to raise and support armies in time of actual war; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer period than two years.

To provide and maintain a navy in time of war.

To make rules for the government of the land and naval forces.

To provide for organizing and disciplining a militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed under their authority; and to appoint over them, when so employed, or select from among them, the General, Brigade, and Regimental Staff officers: and to appoint and

commission, for the existing war, all other officers in command thereof, of higher grade than the commandants of companies: reserving to the Colonial Governments respectively, the appointment at other times of all their militia officers, and in time of war, of all officers of militia whose appointment is not hereby vested in the Congress of Liberia.

Sec. 13. The Congress shall have power to make treaties with the several African tribes and to prescribe for regulating the commerce between Liberia and such tribes: but they shall enter into no treaty or alliance, nor ascertain and assess the sum and expenses necessary to the common defence, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the public credit, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land and sea forces should be raised, without the assent of two-thirds of the members present.

Sec. 14. Congress shall have power to render uniform the tariff of duties on foreign imports into the territory of Liberia; but, in doing so, shall give no preference to one port thereof over another; and all such duties shall be collected by, and paid into the treasuries of the respective Colonies under the authority of their respective Legislative Councils.

Sec. 15. Congress shall impose no duty on the exports of any Colony, nor shall any Colony impose any duty on the entry or transportation of the produce or manufactures of any other Colony arriving in the same.

Sec. 16. The Congress may establish a communication by post, between the several Colonies and fix the rate of postage, but the proceeds thereof shall be paid into the treasuries of the several Colonies in which the same may be collected, and the officers required to sustain such communication, shall be appointed under the authority of the Colonial Legislatures, in such mode as they may respectively prescribe, and be paid such compensation as their respective Colonial Legislatures may provide out of the proceeds of the postage.

ARTICLE III. *Of the Executive Power.*

Sec. 1. The Supreme Executive power of the Government of Liberia shall be vested in the Governor of the Colony of Mourovia, whose title shall be "President of Liberia and Governor of Monrovia," and in a council to consist of the several Colonial Governors or a majority of them. The President shall, if empowered, perform the duties of Agent of the United States of America for the reception of recaptured Africans, provided that, if any other person shall be appointed to such agency, he may, also, be a member of the Executive Council with a right to debate, but not to vote on any question.

Sec. 2. During the recess of the Congress all vacancies in the several offices created and filled by them shall be filled on the nomination of the President with the advice and consent of the Council, if present — if absent, by the President alone; and all such officers, so appointed, shall hold their offices until the expiration of the ensuing session of Congress.

Sec. 3. The President shall be, ex-officio commander in chief of the Land and Naval forces of Liberia, and of such portion of the militia as may be called into the service thereof. He shall receive his appointment from the American Colonization Society and shall be removable at their pleasure.

Sec. 4. The Executive power of the Colonies of Cape Palmas and Bassa Cove shall be vested in a Governor and such councillors, and inferior officers and agents, as the constitutions adopted for these Colonies by their respective Societies, may provide.

ARTICLE IV. *Of the Judicial Power.*

Sec. 1. The Judicial Power of the Government of Liberia shall be vested in a Supreme Court, to consist of the President of Liberia and the Governors of the several Colonies, and in such other Courts as the Congress may establish by law; and shall extend to all cases arising under this Constitution of Government; and the treaties and laws made in conformity therewith; to all cases in which controversies arise between citizens and other nations, or between such citizens and the colonists; to all cases in which controversies may exist between the Colonies themselves, and to all cases wherein the rights or privileges of any minister, diplomatic agent, or representative of any of the African tribes may be involved.

Sec. 2. In all cases between the Colonies themselves; or which may threaten to disturb the peaceful relations between Liberia and other nations, or the several African tribes, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases it shall have appellate jurisdiction only.

Sec. 3. The decisions of the Supreme Court shall be conclusive evidence of the construction of the Constitution, treaties, and laws, and with the treaties and acts of Congress shall have paramount authority to the acts of the several Colonial Legislatures and the decisions of their Courts; from the latter an appeal may be taken whenever those decisions involve the construction of any treaty, act of Congress, or prior decision of the Supreme Court of Liberia.

ARTICLE V.

Sec. 1. The assent of all the parties thereto, shall be necessary to any amendments of this Constitution ; and the American Colonization Society shall have power to provide the mode of ascertaining and proclaiming such assent to any future amendment.

The Citizens of the several Colonies shall be entitled in every Colony to all the rights, privileges and immunities of the citizens of such Colony.

No order of nobility, nor hereditary political distinction of any sort shall be admitted in any Colony. No law shall be passed abridging the liberty of speech or of the press, nor any preference be given to one religious creed, institution, or denomination, over any other, but every person shall be allowed to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

No law shall be passed to prevent the people from peaceably assembling to petition for a redress of grievances ; nor shall any religious test be enacted as a qualification for office.

The property of no person shall be taken for public use, without just compensation ; and in all criminal cases the trial by jury shall be preserved inviolate.

The writ of habeas corpus, shall not be suspended except in time of actual invasion or insurrection, and the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated ; and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

Report on African Colonization.

[February 28, 1843, H. Rep. No. 283, 27 Cong. 3d sess.]

Mr. J. P. Kennedy, from the Committee on Commerce, submitted the following

REPORT :

The Committee on Commerce, to whom was referred the memorial of the friends of African colonization, assembled in convention in the city of Washington in May last, beg leave to submit the following report :

The necessity of making some provision for the colonization and settlement of the free colored population of this country began, at an early

period, to attract the attention of the public. During the administration of Mr. Jefferson, the State of Virginia made an application to the General Government for aid in this purpose. That State desired to originate some measure which should provide an asylum for this population, either on the coast of Africa or in some other appropriate region beyond the limits of the Union. Resolutions were more than once adopted by its Legislature, expressive of the interest which the State felt in the subject, and of the importance attached to it; and at length the Governor was directed, in 1816, when Dr. Finley was employed at Washington in his memorable enterprise of establishing the American Colonization Society, to correspond with the President for the promotion of that design. The assistance of the Senators and Representatives of the State was invoked to the same end.

The society was founded in December, 1816. It comprised many eminent individuals from the several States; was characterized by its freedom from sectional distinctions; enlisted the aid of men from every quarter of the Union; and was generally received and applauded as a beneficent and highly national undertaking.

Its design, as set forth in an article of its constitution, was to act "in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as might adopt regulations on the subject." Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, and Georgia, were the first to respond to the invitation invoking their assistance. They passed resolutions recommending the subject to the country, and generally announced their accordance in the opinion, expressed by Mr. Jefferson, that it was desirable the United States should undertake the colonization of the free people of color on the coast of Africa.

The society, very soon after its organization, laid its plans before Congress, and solicited the countenance and support of that body. The best disposition was manifested towards it, and it may be set down to its praise, that one of the earliest and most valuable results of its labors was the adoption by Congress of more energetic measures for the suppression of the slave trade. That trade was denounced as piracy, and subjected to the penalties of such an offence. Foreign States were invited to co-operate in the effort to destroy this trade, by treating it in the same manner; and upon this foundation has eventually grown up that active, and, it is to be hoped, effective hostility to the traffic, which shall succeed in its ultimate abolition. In regulating this subject, at that time, Congress passed an act by which the right of any State to dispose of captured

Africans brought within the territory of the United States, in contravention of its laws, was revoked, and the President was clothed with authority to restore these unfortunate beings to their native country.

Mr. Monroe, believing that the benevolent views of Congress in reference to recaptured Africans demanded that due provision should be made for their shelter, sustenance, and defence, temporarily, at least, after their arrival in Africa, and this could only be secured through the services of an agent empowered to superintend the subject by actual personal examination and assistance, interpreted this act to confer the powers which he deemed essential to its effectual application. This opinion he communicated to Congress by special message, and expressed his determination to proceed in the accomplishment of the objects of the law, by co-operating with the Colonization Society in the selection of a station for the temporary or permanent residence of such Africans as might be brought within the description of the case provided for.

Proceeding still further in the same design, when the society had obtained possession by purchase of the tract of country since designated by the name of Liberia, Mr. Monroe directed that the recaptured negroes should be placed upon its soil, under the care of an agent of the Government, with such supplies and assistance as might enable them, should they desire it, ultimately to attain the advantages which it was the purpose of the society to secure to those who might, under their auspices, voluntarily engage in the establishment of their colony.

Thus the colony of Liberia rose into existence, both as a home for recaptured Africans, restored by the humanity of our Government to their own country, and as a well-organized community of free colored men, prepared and disposed to extend their useful arts, civilized laws, and Christianity, both along the coast and into the interior of Africa.

About half the States of the Union have expressed their decided approbation of the scheme of African colonization, and the citizens and Legislature of Maryland have proceeded to plant a flourishing colony at Cape Palmas. Through the efforts and under the influence of the American Colonization Society, nearly twenty eligible tracts of country have been purchased between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, and on many of them promising settlements established. The enterprise is demonstrated to be practicable, and capable of indefinite extension. Though the colonies embrace but a few thousand emigrants, their salutary influence is widely felt, and many thousands of the native population have sought their protection, submitted to their laws, and enjoy the advantages of their

instruction. Able and dis-interested citizens of the United States have, from time to time, devoted themselves to their interests, and, under the authority of the colonization societies, have assisted them to frame their social institutions, their government and laws. They exhibit to the eyes of a barbarous people the model of a free, temperate, industrious, civilized, and Christian society. They have legislative assemblies, courts of justice, schools, and churches. Though having enjoyed in this country but very imperfect means of improvement, and left it with small means, they have done much for themselves, and much for civilization and Christianity — have enacted laws for the extirpation of the slave trade, and, wherever their rightful authority exists, executed them with vigor; they have successfully engaged in agriculture and in lawful commerce; they have opened the way for many Christian missionaries, of different communions, to the heathen tribes, and afforded them protection and facilities in their work. In fine, Liberia and the Maryland settlement at Cape Palmas present themselves to this country and the world, not only as eligible asylums for our free colored population, and for such as may become free, but as republican and Christian States informed by the elements of indefinite growth and improvement, capable, duly countenanced, and guarded against the interference of unfriendly Powers, of rising to honor and greatness, and of diffusing the influence of its laws and example over wide districts of Africa.

Adverting to the fact that the suppression of the slave trade has been, almost from the origin of this Government, an object of interest to our people, and that it is now still more earnestly sought by the most enlightened nations; that this trade, being nurtured only in the *barbarism* of Africa, may be soon checked and ultimately overthrown by the efforts of the colonies planted by our citizens; that the colonies now established have most obviously stimulated the industry of the natives in their vicinity, have created a commerce which promises every day to become more valuable; and have auspiciously begun the beneficent labor of African civilization; that they furnish shelter and refreshment to our own ships and seamen, and are growing into importance as ports and depots for our naval squadrons; and, above all, that they have been founded by the benevolence of our citizens and public authorities, with the laudable purpose of giving a safe and prosperous home to that portion of our population, who, however disqualified by our laws or our habits from being incorporated, with advantage to themselves, into our political society, are still entitled, as dependants upon our guardianship,

to our sympathy and support. Adverting to all these considerations, the committee are of opinion that the colonies of Liberia and Maryland, now existing, and those which may hereafter be established on the African coast, may justly invoke the regard of the Government, and ask from it some measure of protection and support.

In what mode and to what extent these should be afforded, is a question of more doubt and greater difficulty. Many of the earliest and most distinguished friends of African colonization, both in and out of Congress, regarded the efforts of the American Colonization Society as experimental, and preliminary to the action of Government, and soon after its origin avowed the opinion "that Congress ought to be requested to take under its protection the colony already planted, to make provision for its increase by suitable appropriations of money, and by authorizing the President to make further purchases of land from the natives, as it might be wanted; to provide for its security, internal and external, by such regulations for its temporary government as might be deemed advisable, by authorizing the President to employ a suitable naval force, as well for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade as for the purpose of impressing the natives with respect for the establishment; and to make provision for the purchase, from time to time, of suitable territories on the southwestern coast of Africa, for the establishment of other similar colonies, as fast as they could be formed, with due regard to the national resources and to the public good."

An application to Congress for such aid was urged by the late General Harper, in a report made by him, as chairman of a committee, to the society, in 1824; and although he observed "it might be doubted whether, on a subject so vast in its consequences and connexions, and so new, Congress would act immediately, this did not furnish any sufficient reason for delaying the application. Time must be allowed for viewing the subject in all its bearings — for reflecting on it maturely, and for public opinion to receive and communicate the proper impulse. Nothing," he adds, "the committee apprehend, will tend so effectually to produce and hasten these desirable results, as full discussions and explanations of the whole subject in Congress."

Whilst the committee duly appreciate those high considerations of patriotism and philanthropy by which the opinions just cited were sustained, and cherish the belief that, at a period not very remote, the enterprise of African colonization is to be prosecuted by this nation with an energy and on a scale far transcending any as yet realized in the actual

condition of the colonies now planted, they see grounds for hope, that at a moderate expense, and with that aid and countenance which can be readily granted, without fully assuming all the hazards and responsibilities of a system of colonization, their permanency, growth, and prosperity, may be secured.

It is vitally important that the territory of the colonies should be enlarged, and that their jurisdiction should become clear and incontestable over the whole line of coast between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred miles; and that, in case of hostilities between this and any European country, their rights as neutrals should be recognised and respected. The increase of legitimate commerce on the western coast of Africa is already strongly tempting the enterprise of English merchants; and serious difficulties have arisen between British traders, claiming rights, independent of the Government of Liberia and Maryland, within their territorial limits. Naval officers of Great Britain have been called on by British subjects to interpose and defend them against the revenue laws of the colonies; and the French, the committee are informed, have sought to obtain a cession of lands within the limits of Liberia, just referred to, and to which the people of that colony have a pre-emptive right.

As neither Great Britain nor any European Government has, to the knowledge of the committee, claimed political jurisdiction from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas; as such claim, if by possibility it exists, has arisen long since the colonies were founded, as those who occupy those settlements have gone thither to establish for themselves, their posterity, and multitudes who may follow them, a republican commonwealth, capable of indefinite enlargement, it is essential that they be not disturbed in the exercise of rights already acquired, or precluded from extending their authority over the entire line of coast (from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas) generally known as Liberia. An appropriation of a few thousand dollars, to enable the colonists to effect negotiations with the native chiefs, by which their title to this region of Africa should be extinguished, and the jurisdiction of their Government over it rendered unquestionable, would, in the judgment of your committee, whether regarded as a measure auxiliary to the suppression of the slave trade, or to the interests of American commerce be highly expedient. In all treaties for the purchase of lands, it might be stipulated, that, on the part of the African chiefs, the slave trade should be forever abandoned, and their attention be directed to the more gainful pursuits of agricul-

tural industry, and to the exchange of the rich products of their country for those of the manufacturing skill of this and other civilized nations. The people of the colonies, thus encouraged, would co-operate most effectively with our naval squadron in carrying out the humane and philanthropic purpose of the recent treaty for the overthrow of the slave trade, and become factors and agents to increase and extend American commerce in that quarter of the world. It is believed that \$20,000 thus expended would effect more for the furtherance of both these objects than \$100,000 expended in any other way.

The committee have abundant evidence, to which they refer in the documents accompanying this report, to show the increase of lawful commerce on the African coast, and that, for want of adequate protection, and the due attention of our Government to the subject, it has been prosecuted by our own citizens under great disadvantages. To the testimony of Dr. James Hall, a gentleman entitled to full confidence, and who has resided long in Africa, the committee invite the special attention of the House. This testimony is confirmed by the information recently given to the world in the report and accompanying documents of a committee of the English House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the condition of the British settlements and their relations to the native tribes of western Africa.

The annual imports from western Africa into this country probably exceed a million dollars, and into Great Britain are about four millions. The palm oil trade, now becoming of great value, had hardly an existence twelve years ago, is rapidly increasing, and may be increased to an almost indefinite extent. Hitherto, the slave trade has been at war with all improvement and every kind of innocent commerce. Its cessation will be succeeded by the cultivation of the soil, and the growth of trade in all the varied and valuable productions of the African climate. It is of infinite importance that the natives of Africa should be convinced that agricultural labor and the substitution of lawful trade for the infamous commerce in human beings will be for their advantage; and that, in their intercourse with them, our own merchants should possess every privilege granted to those of England, or any other nation.

The establishment of a commercial agency, (as recommended by Dr. Hall,) to reside in Liberia, and occasionally to visit, in a Government vessel, various points on the coast, to ascertain the best sites for mercantile establishments, to form conventions and treaties of commerce and for the suppression of the slave trade with the principal chiefs, to take

charge of the stores and other property sent out for our ships of war, to guard the rights and interests of our seamen, and secure for American vessels a free and unrestrained right of trade at all important stations, the committee would recommend as an object urgently demanded by interest and humanity.

The time has arrived, in the opinion of the committee, when this subject of African colonization has become sufficiently important to attract the attention of the people, in its connexion with the question of the political relations which these colonies are to hold with our Government. Founded partly by the private enterprise of American citizens and partly by the aid of the Federal and State authorities, recognised as political communities by our laws, and even owing their regulation in some degree to the legislation of a State of this Union, (as in the case of Maryland) they have attained a position in which, obviously, they must very soon become objects of consideration to the world, both for the commerce which may be under their control, and for the agency they are likely to exercise in the final disenthralment of the continent to which they belong. It may speedily become apparent to the observation of Christendom, that the slave trade may more certainly, effectually, and cheaply be destroyed by the colonial power on shore than by all the squadrons of Europe and America afloat. The growth of such a conviction will inevitably draw an anxious and friendly eye towards the American colonies, from every Power which sincerely pursues the charitable work of relieving Africa from her horrible traffic, and mankind from the reproach of permitting it. The influence of such a sentiment, we may conceive, will greatly advance the interests and magnify the value of the colonies. It would appear to be our duty, before an occasion of conflicting interest may arise, to take such steps towards the recognition of our appropriate relations to these communities as may hereafter secure to them the protection of this Government, and to our citizens the advantages of commercial intercourse with them.

The idea of an American colony is a new one. It is manifestly worthy of the highest consideration. The committee see nothing in our Constitution to forbid it. We have establishments of this nature, though somewhat anomalous in the character of their dependence upon our Government, in the Indian tribes which have been placed beyond the limits of the States, on the purchased territory of the Union. The African settlements would require much less exercise of political jurisdiction, much less territorial supervision, than is presented in the case of

these tribes. They would require aid towards the enlargement of territory, occasional visitation and protection by our naval armaments, a guarantee, perhaps, to be secured to them by the influence of our Government, of the right of neutrality in the wars that may arise between European or American States. They would stand in need of the highest commercial privileges in their intercourse with this the mother country; and the reciprocation of such privileges, on the part of the colonies, to our citizens, would doubtless be an object to be secured on our side. Questions of commercial regulation would frequently arise, demanding the care and supervision of this Government. The profitable trade of our citizens may be deeply involved in the adjustment of such questions. The interest which we may have hereafter in this subject is one which it would be impolitic for us to neglect or abandon.

The Committee, without further exposition of a subject which presents topics for a large discussion, and which abounds in considerations of the highest magnitude and concern, have thrown out these general views, in the hope that the attention of the country may, at an early moment, be attracted to their examination, through which a plan may be devised for the permanent and prosperous guidance of the colonies. For the purpose of aiding in this examination, and in illustration of the views contained in this report, the committee have appended sundry documents hereto, to which they beg leave to refer.

They submit with this report the following resolutions:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the increasing importance of the colonies on the western coast of Africa, both in regard to the commerce of that coast and their influence in suppressing the slave trade, renders it expedient that an agent should be appointed by the Government, to protect and advance the interests of American trade in that region; that said agent should reside at some convenient point in the said colonies; and that he should be empowered to form treaties or conventions with the native tribes on the coast of Africa, for the advancement of American trade, and for the suppression of the traffic in slaves.

And be it further resolved, That the subject of settling the political relations proper to be adopted and maintained between this Government and the colonies now established, or which may hereafter be established, on the coast of Africa, by the citizens or public authorities of the United States, or of any of the States, be referred to the Secretary of State, with a direction that he report thereon to the next Congress.

Colonization Society to Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, requesting intervention in behalf of Liberia.

December 22, 1842.

Sir: I have the honor to communicate the following resolution adopted on the 2d instant, by the executive committee of the American Colonization Society:

“Resolved, That the secretary confer with the Secretary of State on the subject of the difficulties existing between the colony of Liberia and British traders; also, prepare a communication on the subject, either to him or to our minister in England. Mr. Everett, as shall be judged; also, communicate the correspondence between the Governor of Liberia and certain British Naval officers on the coast of Africa, the Secretary of State and Secretary of the Navy.”

You sir, are well acquainted with the origin, design, and general proceedings of the American Colonization Society. It was organized by benevolent individuals, from different sections, and various States of the Union, in December, 1816, and was created a body corporate by an act of the legislature of Maryland, in December, 1831, which act, somewhat amended and enlarged, was renewed in March, 1837. The object of this Society, as defined in the second article of its constitution, “is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place, as Congress shall deem expedient; and the Society shall act, to effect, this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.”

The founders of this society regarded their scheme as one of enlarged humanity towards the whole African race; and believe that, if perseveringly prosecuted, with adequate means, it must confer rich blessings upon our free people of color, encourage emancipation, aid to suppress the slave trade, and establish a civilized and free government and the christian religion upon the coast of Africa. They early addressed memorials for countenance and support to the State Legislatures and to the General Government. Congress, at their suggestion, adopted more effectual measures for the suppression of the slave trade, and, revoking forever the authority of any State Legislature to dispose of such unfortunate Africans as, in violation of law, were brought under there jurisdiction; authorized the President of the United States to make such regulations and arrangements as he might deem expedient for the safe-

keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States, and to appoint a proper person or persons, residing upon the coast of Africa, as agent or agents for receiving those persons of color delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by the commanders of the United States armed vessels.

The then President of the United States, Mr. Monroe, perceiving that the benevolent provision of this law for the benefit of the recaptured Africans might be most economically and effectually fulfilled by securing a home for these persons within the limits and under the protection of such colony as might be founded by the efforts and donations of the members and friends of this society, determined to act in cooperation with the society in regard to the station to be chosen for the temporary or permanent (as might be) residence of such Africans; and when the society had obtained possession, by purchase of a portion of the tract of country in Africa, since designated by the name of Liberia, such persons were placed upon its soil, under the care of an agent of the Government, and such means of subsistence and defence as might enable them ultimately to attain the advantages which it was the endeavor of the society to secure all free voluntary emigrants to their colony.

Thus, the colony of Liberia rose into existence both as the home of recaptured Africans, humanely restored by our Government to their country, and as a well-organized community of free colored men, prepared and disposed to extend their useful arts, laws, civilization, and christianity, far above the native population of Africa.

The society proceeded without delay to explore the western coast of Africa, and to obtain, by fair negotiation with the native tribes, and by actual purchase, eligible tracts of country, for colonial settlements. Enterprising free men of color were assisted to emigrate, organized into a government after their own republican model, and by some of our own citizens devoted to their interests, and eminently qualified to be their guides, instructed in their social and political duties. They constitute a free and christian commonwealth, comprising a population of several thousand persons, they have founded churches, schools, tribunals of justice, the press, and made successful experiments in agriculture and commerce. Laws are enacted by legislative council chosen by the people, while all engaged in their administration (the Governor alone excepted, who is appointed by the society) derive their authority from the same source. The missionaries of several communities have entered through the various avenues, and under the protection of this colony, upon their benevolent

enterprise among the native Africans, many of whom have sought refuge within its bounds and submitted to its government. By the law of Liberia, slave trade is denounced as piracy, and is utterly driven from every spot over which it has the power or right to extend control. As the numbers of the colony have increased, no means at its command have been neglected for the acquisition of territory; and while many points from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas (a distance of nearly 300 miles) have been secured by absolute cession, the right of pre-emption exists towards others, and it is of great importance to bring this whole line of coast under the government of Liberia. The correspondence heretofore placed in your hands, between Governor Roberts and certain English naval officers, and that which I have the honor herewith to transmit, shows the difficulties which have arisen from the interference of certain British traders to the rights of the colony and the still more serious difficulties to be apprehended. Under color of a prior claim granted by certain native African chiefs to individual Englishmen to establish factories for trade, or to occupy small portions of land purchased for the same purpose by Englishmen, the political jurisdiction of the colony over territory ceded to the colonial government is called in question, and the aid of British naval officers invoked to prevent the enforcement of the several revenue laws of the colony.

As neither the government of Great Britain, nor any European government, claim, as far as we know, any political jurisdiction from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas; as such claim, if by possibility it may exist, has arisen long since the establishment of the colony and government of Liberia; as this colony is composed of enterprising free men of color from the United States, who have gone, aided by benevolent American citizens, to plant themselves as a free, independent, and christian community, on this remote and barbarous coast, in the hope of rising to honor and power as a civilized state, attracting to it the unfortunate and widely disbursed children of Africa, from this and other lands, while exerting renovating influence on home population,—it is essential that they be not discouraged in the possession of rights already acquired, or precluded from extending their influence and laws over the entire line of coast (from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas) generally known as Liberia.

The executive committee venture to solicit your friendly interposition, in such a way as you may deem it expedient, with the governments of Great Britain, and France, to prevent any interference by these governments themselves, or their citizens, to the rights and interests of the

colonial settlements of Liberia, and also a recognition of the just title of these settlements to be regarded as neutral.

The late Secretary of State for the colonies of Great Britain, Lord John Russell, assured me of the disposition of Her Majesty's ministers to consider with candor the claims of Liberia, provided the subject was brought to its notice through the channels of our government; and Dr. Lushington, judge in the court of admiralty, promised his best offices to secure from the various European Governments a recognition of the neutrality of this colony.

Inasmuch as nearly half the States of this Union have expressed, through their Legislatures, the approbation of the cause of African colonization, and several invoked in its behalf the aid of the General Government and others made valuable appropriations of money to promote it; and since the Congress of the United States has repeatedly referred this subject to select committees, and by the act of March 3d, 1819, (passed in consequence of a memorial of the American Colonization Society,) authorizing the President of the United States to provide for the removal of recaptured Africans to the coast of Africa and their temporary support and defence there, indicated the policy which the executive has adopted of placing such unfortunate persons on its soil and under the protection of this colony; and since the government and people of Liberia are contributing very effectually, and, in their progress, will still more contribute, to that great object of humanity and religion, to which the United States and England stand pledged together and the world by their recent treaty—the overthrow of the slave trade; and finally, since the permanency and growth of this colony are very important to American commerce, and of inestimable value to the interest of civilization and christianity in that quarter of the globe (to say nothing of its relation to great and agitating questions in this country), we trust that you may see reasons for bringing its difficulties and claims distinctly to the consideration of the governments of Great Britain and France.

While it is deeply regretted by the committee that the hopes of the founders of the American Colonization Society, in regard to support for their scheme from the State and National Governments, have not, as yet, been fully realized, and the colonists of Liberia are left without adequate assistance and protection from this nation, they see in their weakness and exposure, as well as in their lofty purpose, self-denying energy, christian fortitude, and virtuous conduct, the strongest recommendation to the confidence and friendly regards of all civilized and powerful nations.

Mr. Webster, Secretary of State, to Mr. Everett, Minister to Great Britain.

March 24, 1843.

Sir: I send you, in addition to the papers transmitted with my letter of the 5th of January last, several notes recently addressed to me by the secretary of the American Colonization Society, together with the printed documents, &c., accompanying them.

Mr. Gurley's first communication is dated on the 13th, and the other two on the 16th inst. Taken in connexion with those previously forwarded to the legation, they show that the wishes of the colonists, in regard to the territorial extent of their settlements, are quite reasonable—the settlements extending southeasterly from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred miles only; and these notes, too, explain the nature of the relations existing between Liberia and the United States. Founded principally with a view to the melioration of the condition of an interesting portion of the great human family, this colony has conciliated more and more the good-will, and has, from time to time, received the aid and support of this Government. Without having passed any laws for their regulation, the American Government takes a deep interest in the welfare of the people of Liberia, and is disposed to extend to them a just degree of countenance and protection.

Mr. Fox, British Minister, to Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State,
August 9, 1843.

Sir: I had recently the honor to state to you, verbally, that her Majesty's Government have, for some time past, been desirous of ascertaining, authentically, the nature and extent of the connexion subsisting between the American colony of Liberia, on the coast of Africa, and the Government of the United States.

Certain differences which have arisen, and which, I believe, are still pending, between British subjects trading with Africa on the one hand, and the authorities of Liberia on the other, render it very necessary, in order to avert for the future serious trouble and contention in that quarter, that her Majesty's Government should be accurately informed what degree of official patronage and protection, if any, the United States Government extend to the colony of Liberia, how far, if at all, the United States Government recognize the colony of Liberia, as a national

establishment; and consequently, how far, if at all, the United States Government hold themselves responsible towards foreign countries for the acts of the authorities of Liberia.

It is also very desirable, if the United States Government recognize and protect the colony of Liberia, that her Majesty's Government should be authentically informed what are considered to be the territorial limits of the colony; and also, by what title the amount of territory so claimed has been acquired. For it appears that (during the last year, in particular) the authorities of Liberia have shown a disposition to enlarge very considerably the limits of their territory; assuming to all appearance quite unjustifiably, the right of monopolizing the trade with the native inhabitants along a considerable line of coast, where the trade had hitherto been free; and thus injuriously interfering with the commercial interest and pursuits of British subjects in that quarter.

It is not for a moment supposed that the United States Government would, either directly or indirectly, sanction such proceedings; but, in case of its becoming necessary to stop the further progress of such proceedings and of such pretensions, it is very desirable, in order, as before mentioned, to avert causes of future dispute and contention, that her Majesty's Government should be informed whether the authorities of Liberia are themselves alone responsible on the spot for their public acts; or whether, if they are under the protection and control of the United States Government, it is to that Government that application must be made when the occasions above alluded to may require it.

Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State, to Mr. Fox, British Minister,
September 25, 1843.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th of August last, enforming me that her Majesty's Government have, for some time past, been desirous of ascertaining authentically the nature and extent of the connexion subsisting between the American colony of Liberia, on the coast of Africa, and the Government of the United States; and requesting me to give you the desired information.

The colony, or settlement, of Liberia was established by a voluntary association of American citizens, under the title of the American Colonization Society. Its objects were, to introduce christianity and promote civilization in Africa; to relieve the slave-holding States from the inconvenience of an increase of free blacks among them; to improve the

condition and elevate the character of those blacks themselves, and to present to the slave-holder an inducement to emancipate his slaves, by offering to them an asylum in the country of their ancestors, in which they would enjoy political and social equality. It was not, however, established under the authority of our Government, nor has it been recognized as subject to our laws and jurisdiction.

It is believed that the society has confined itself strictly to the professed objects of its association. As an individual enterprise, it has no precedent in the history of the world. The motives which led to it were not those of trade, nor of conquest; the individuals concerned in it promised themselves no personal advantage nor benefit whatever. Their motives were purely philanthropic, and their objects strictly disinterested. In spite of the unexampled difficulties with which they have had to contend, they have, by patience and perseverance, succeeded in placing their colony upon a safe and prosperous footing. It is just beginning to exert, in a sensible degree, its beneficent influences upon the destinies of the African race; and promises, if it be duly sustained, to do much for the regeneration of that quarter of the globe. Hence it has received, as it richly deserves, the respect and sympathy of the whole civilized world. To the United States it is an object of peculiar interest. It was established by our people, and has gone on under the countenance and good offices of our Government. It is identified with the success of a great object, which has enlisted the feelings, and called into action the enlarged benevolence, of a large proportion of our people. It is natural, therefore, that we should regard it with greater sympathy and solicitude than would attach to it under other circumstances.

This society was first projected in the year 1816. In 1821 it possessed itself of a territory upon the continent of Africa, by fair purchase of the owners of the soil. For several years it was compelled to defend itself by arms, and unaided, against the native tribes; and succeeding in sustaining itself, only at a melancholy sacrifice of comfort, and a lamentable loss of human lives. No nation has ever complained that it has acquired territory in Africa; but, on the contrary, for twenty two years it has been allowed, with the full knowledge of all nations, to enlarge its borders from time to time, as its safety or its necessities required. It has been regarded as a purely benevolent enterprise, and, with a view to its success, has been tacitly permitted to exercise all the powers of an independent community. It is believed that this license has never been abused, and that the colony has advanced no claims which ought not

to be allowed to an infant settlement just struggling into a healthy existence. Its object and motive entitle it to the respect of the stronger powers, and its very weakness gives it irresistible claims to their forbearance. Indeed, it may justly appeal to the kindness and support of all the principal nations of the world, since it has already afforded, and still continues to afford, the most important aid in carrying out a favorite measure of their policy.

It is not perceived that any nation can have just reason to complain that this settlement does not confine itself to the limits of its original territory. Its very existence requires that it should extend those limits. Heretofore, this has never been done by arms, so far as I am informed, but always by fair purchase from the natives. In like manner, their treaties with the native princes, whether of trade or otherwise, ought to be respected. It is quite certain that their influence in civilizing and christianizing Africa, in suppressing the slave-trade, and in ameliorating the condition of African slaves, will be worth very little, if they should be restrained at this time in any one of these particulars. Full justice, it is hoped, may be done to England, without denying to Liberia powers so necessary to the safety, the prosperity, and the utility of that settlement as a philanthropic establishment.

This Government does not, of course, undertake to settle and adjust differences which have arisen between British subjects and the authorities of Liberia. Those authorities are responsible for their own acts; and they certainly would not expect the support or countenance of this Government in any act of injustice towards individuals or nations. But, as they are themselves nearly powerless, they must rely, for the protection of their own rights, on the justice and sympathy of other powers.

Although no apprehension is entertained that the British Government meditates any wrong to this interesting settlement, yet the occasion is deemed a fit one for making known, beyond a simple answer to your inquiries, in what light it is regarded by the Government and people of the United States. It is due to her Majesty's Government that I should inform you that this Government regards it as occupying a peculiar position, and as possessing peculiar claims to the friendly consideration of all christian powers; that this Government will be, at all times, prepared to interpose its good offices to prevent any encroachment by the colony upon any just right of any nation; and that it would be very unwilling to see it despoiled of its territory rightfully acquired, or improperly restrained in the exercise of its necessary rights and powers as an independent settlement.

*Extract from Report of R. R. Gurley to the Secretary of State,
February 15, 1850.*

The authorities and people of Liberia cherish a sincere attachment to the government and people of the United States. They are sensible that under the auspices of American benevolence they have attained to their present elevation, from which they are permitted to see before them a widely-expanding and glorious prospect of social happiness and political prosperity and renown. To the entire people of the republic, the recognition of their independence by the government of the United States is an object of earnest desire. The peculiarities of the condition of the free people of color, and others of the African race, in this country, they well know, and have no wish, by any relations which may be established between their government and ours, to cause inconvenience or embarrassment. While their wish and purpose is to maintain a just self-respect, as a free and independent republic, before the world, they will, I doubt not, be disposed to accommodate (as far as may be without exposure to dishonor or self-reproach) their arrangements to the sense and views of the American government. It has been suggested that they might conduct all their public affairs in this country with the United States through some one or more of its citizens, in case our government should feel inclined to confide to citizens of Liberia any business it might wish transacted in Africa with the authorities of that republic.

The scheme of African colonization originated not only in benevolence towards our colored population, but towards both races on this continent and towards two quarters of the globe. At its inception, our most illustrious statesmen — a Jefferson, Marshall, Monroe, and Madison — gave to it their sanction. It was seen to unite Christian philanthropy with political expediency — a just regard for our national welfare with the more solemn obligations of religious duty. It has derived strength from the homes of the good and pious in our southern States, and found eloquent advocates and defenders in their legislative halls. Many States have urged its claims upon the general government, and the voices of the churches of every name second their appeals.

But it is the success of the plan of African colonization, as seen in the independent republic of Liberia, that most conclusively commends it to national consideration. On that far-distant shore, for ages darkened by superstition and outraged by crime, a community of free colored persons from the United States, aided by American benevolence, have adopted a constitution of free government, and taken their high position among

the independent states of the world. England and France have acknowledged their right of self-government and their just claim to the respect and comity of nations. What higher motives can be imagined than those which have given existence to this republic? — what work more honorable or more sublime than that to which it is dedicated and destined? Though at present few in numbers and very limited in means, a vast field for action and influence opens before it; and in its constitution and laws, in the spirit of its people, the advantages of its position, and the motives and necessities of those who are hastening to build up their homes and their fortunes under the shadow of its wings, we see the elements of mighty power, of an unbounded growth and prosperity. It has been justly said, that “the great necessity of the world at this moment is a free, civilized, and powerful State within the tropics — a necessity felt through every period of the world’s history, and now about to be realized. The western coast of Africa is in every point of view the most effective position for such a State to occupy. The black race, of which there cannot be much less than 150,000,000 on earth, is pre-eminently the race needing such a development, and prepared for it; and the United States are exactly in a condition to found such a commonwealth with this race, and under circumstances the most glorious to ourselves, the most hopeful to the world, and the most beneficial to the blacks.” Around this republic of Liberia — the morning star of Africa’s redemption, revealing how great evils may be transmuted by the hand of the Almighty into an incalculable good; which looks with encouraging and cheering aspect upon the African race in every part of the earth; reconciles the gift of liberty with the highest interests of those who bestow and those who receive it; opens a quarter of the world for many years shut up in barbarism to the genial and renovating influence of letters, laws, commerce and Christianity — are gathered the sympathies of all virtuous and generous minds, allied with its safeguard, the all-encircling and never-slumbering power of an omnipotent Providence. The rapid increase of free persons of color in many of the States of this Union; the importance, for their benefit more than our own, of their organization into a community by themselves, in the land of their ancestors; the immense advantages such a community must secure to itself and extend to others, by developing the resources and turning into legitimate channels the commerce of Africa, by the civilization it must impart, and the moral and political truths it must exemplify and enforce among her ignorant, debased, and chaotic population — all command the

republic of Liberia to the regard of the general government of this Union. Engaged in a work of unsurpassed dignity and importance, the inhabitants of this small republic are accomplishing more good, as I must believe, than any equal number of human beings, in private stations, on the face of the globe. More than to the united endeavors of all Christian nations, with their treaties and armed squadrons against the slave trade, is humanity indebted for its suppression along many hundred miles of the African coast to the people of Liberia. But it should not be concealed, that to explore Africa; to establish commercial intercourse and relations with her interior tribes; to improve and fortify the harbors of the republic; to make needful experiments in agriculture and the arts in a region to which the people from this country have so recently been introduced, and to maintain a wise system of education for all classes of her population; so that its territory shall offer an attractive home to all the free descendants of Africa, demands pecuniary means to which the present revenues of Liberia are unequal. But since this republic, more than any other power, will develop the resources and increase the trade of western Africa, the United States, in aiding her endeavors, will open new markets for American productions, and essentially augment American commerce. Yet far higher and nobler motives than those of gain, will, I trust, incline our national authorities to encourage and assist the citizens of Liberia, a few adventurous, but determined children of Africa, gone out from our midst, that they may recover their long-lost inheritance, show their ability to build up civilized cities and states in regions where they have been unknown, and bring a vast continent, now lying in dim eclipse, within the circle and the influences of enlightened and Christian nations.

From the presence of our squadron on the African coast, benefits, doubtless, accrue both to Liberia and to our own commerce; but I may be permitted, in the conclusion of this report, to avow the opinion that a recognition by the government of the United States of the independence of the republic of Liberia, and an appropriation of fifty thousand dollars a year for ten years, to enable that republic to carry out the principles of its constitution, for the happiness of those who from this country are seeking a home upon its soil; for the suppression of the slave trade; and the civilization of Africa, would be in harmony with the character and sentiments of this nation, and give stability, progress, and triumph to liberty and Christianity on the African shore.

Extract from Annual Message of President James Buchanan,
December 6, 1858.

On the 21st of August last Lieutenant J. N. Maffit, of the United States brig *Dolphin* captured the slaver *Echo* (formerly the *Putnam*, of New Orleans) near Kay Verde, on the coast of Cuba, with more than 300 African negroes on board. The prize, under the command of Lieutenant Bradford, of the United States Navy, arrived at Charleston on the 27th August, when the negroes 306 in number, were delivered into the custody of the United States marshal for the district of South Carolina. They were first placed in Castle Pinckney, and afterwards in Fort Sumter, for safe-keeping, and were detained there until the 19th September, when the survivors, 271 in number, were delivered on board the United States steamer *Niagara* to be transported to the coast of Africa under the charge of the agent of the United States, pursuant to the provisions of the act of the 3rd March 1819, "in addition to the acts prohibiting the slave trade." Under the second section of this act the President is "authorized to make such regulations and arrangements as he may deem expedient for the safe-keeping, support, and removal beyond the limits of the United States of all such negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color" captured by vessels of the United States as may be delivered to the marshal of the district into which they are brought, "and to appoint a proper person or persons residing upon the coast of Africa as agent or agents for receiving the negroes, mulattoes, or persons of color delivered from on board vessels seized in the prosecution of the slave trade by commanders of United States armed vessels."

A doubt immediately arose as to the true construction of this act. It is quite clear from its terms that the President was authorized to provide "for safe-keeping, support, and removal" of these negroes up till the time of their delivery to the agent on the coast of Africa, but no express provision was made for their protection and support after they had reached the place of their destination. Still, an agent was to be appointed to receive them in Africa, and it could not have been supposed that Congress intended he should desert them at the moment they were received and turn them loose to the inhospitable coast to perish for want of food or to become again the victims of the slave trade. Had this been the intention of Congress, the employment of an agent to receive them, who is required to reside on the coast, was unnecessary, and they might have been landed by our vessels anywhere in Africa and left exposed to the sufferings and the fate which would certainly await them.

Mr. Monroe, in his special message of December 17, 1819, at the first session after the act was passed, announced to Congress what in his opinion was its true construction. He believed it to be his duty under it to follow these unfortunates into Africa and make provision for them there until they should be able to provide for themselves. In communicating this interpretation of the act to Congress he stated that some doubt had been entertained as to its true intent and meaning, and he submitted the question to them so that they might, "should it be deemed advisable, amend the same before further proceedings are had under it." Nothing was done by Congress to explain the act, and Mr. Monroe proceeded to carry it into execution according to his own interpretation. This, then, became the practical construction. When the Africans from on board the *Echo* were delivered to the marshal at Charleston, it became my duty to consider what disposition ought to be made of them under the law. For many reasons it was expedient to remove them from that locality as speedily as possible. Although the conduct of the authorities and citizens of Charleston in giving countenance to the execution of the law was just what might have been expected from their high character, yet a prolonged continuance of 300 Africans in the immediate vicinity of that city could not have failed to become a source of inconvenience and anxiety to its inhabitants. Where to send them was the question. There was no portion of the coast of Africa to which they could be removed with any regard to humanity except to Liberia. Under these circumstances an agreement was entered into with the Colonization Society on the 7th of September last, a copy of which is herewith transmitted, under which the society engaged, for the consideration of \$45,000, to receive these Africans in Liberia from the agent of the United States and furnish them during the period of one year thereafter with comfortable shelter, clothing, provisions, and medical attendance, causing the children to receive schooling, and all, whether children or adults, to be instructed in the arts of civilized life suitable to their condition. This aggregate of \$45,000 was based upon an allowance of \$150 for each individual; and as there has been considerable mortality among them and may be more before they reach Africa, the society have agreed, in an equitable spirit, to make such a deduction from the amount as under the circumstances may appear just and reasonable. This can not be fixed until we shall ascertain the actual number which may become a charge to the society.

It was also distinctly agreed that under no circumstances shall this Government be called upon for any additional expenses.

The agents of the society manifested a laudable desire to conform to the wishes of the Government throughout the transaction. They assured me that after a careful calculation they would be required to expend the sum of \$150 on each individual in complying with the agreement, and they would have nothing left to remunerate them for their care, trouble, and responsibility. At all events, I could make no better arrangement, and there was no other alternative. During the period when the Government itself, through its own agents, undertook the task of providing for captured negroes in Africa the cost per head was very much greater.

There having been no outstanding appropriation applicable to this purpose, I could not advance any money on the agreement. I therefore recommend that an appropriation may be made of the amount necessary to carry it into effect.

Other captures of a similar character may, and probably will, be made by our naval forces, and I earnestly recommend that Congress may amend the second section of the act of March 3, 1819, so as to free its construction from the ambiguity which has so long existed and render the duty of the President plain in executing its provisions.

The interest of the United States in the Republic of Liberia as evidenced by successive state papers.

[Extracts.]

(Despatch of June 16, 1869, of Mr. Fish, Secretary of State, to Mr. Seys. American Minister to Liberia, from MSS. Records of State Department. *Cited Moore, International Law Digest*, Vol. V. p. 766.)

Your despatch No. 68 is received. In it you inform the Department that a dispute had grown up between Great Britain and the Republic of Liberia relative to the boundary of the republic, and that the government of Liberia had requested the interposition of the United States, and if necessary its protection.

You will inform the minister of foreign affairs, in reply to his request, that the President regards the progress of the Republic of Liberia, which has been so much identified with the United States, with deep solicitude, and would see with deep regret any collision between it and any foreign power. And if the good offices of the United States can do anything towards the just settlement of the existing controversy, you are at liberty to tender them. But to go beyond that, and to offer protection, would be a violation of all the traditions and policies of the United States since they first entered the family of nations.

Should you think it necessary to tender the good offices of this government, you will before doing so report to this Department what is the precise point at issue upon which our mediation is desired, in order that further instructions may be given before you communicate officially with the government of Liberia.

(From a despatch of July 17, 1879, of Mr. Hunter, Acting Secretary of State, to Mr. E. F. Noyes, American Minister at Paris. Foreign Relations 1879, p. 341.)

I transmit herewith for your information, and with a view to the ascertainment of the facts therein reported, a copy of a despatch recently received from the United States minister resident and consul-general at Monrovia, informing the Department that the French consul-general at that place had offered to the Liberian government the protection of that of France. A recent despatch from Commodore R. W. Shufeldt, who, with the *Ticonderoga* has lately visited the west coast of Africa on a special mission, gives the report in substantially the same dress.

When it is considered that this government founded and fostered the nucleus of native representative government on the African shores, and that Liberia, so created, affords a field of emigration and enterprise for the lately emancipated Africans of this country, who have not been slow to avail themselves of the opportunity, it is evident that this government must feel a peculiar interest in any apparent movement to divert the independent political life of Liberia for the aggrandizement of a great continental power which already has a foothold of actual trading possessions on the neighboring coast.

You are doubtless aware that the policy of the adjacent British settlement of Sierra Leone, has of late years been one of encroachment, if not of positive unfriendliness, toward Liberia, and it may prove that the policy of France in this matter may be merely antagonistic to British encroachment, and designed rather to aid that feeble republic to maintain its independent status, with development of trade with France and French possession, than to merge Liberia in the outlying system of that country. If so, it is desirable at least that the United States should be cognizant of the true tendency of the movement.

(Despatch of Feb. 2, 1880, of Mr. Evarts, Secretary of State, to Mr. J. H. Smyth, American Minister to Liberia, from MSS. Records of State Department. Cited Moore, *International Law Digest*, Vol. V. p. 767.)

Liberia is regarded by us with peculiar interest. Already the home of many of those who were once of our nation, she is the predestined

home of many who now enjoy citizenship in this republic. This going out to a greater or less extent of our citizens of African descent is but a question of time, and if Liberia be in proper condition to receive and care for such emigrants from the United States, her territory will be chosen by them in preference to that of any other country. A large and valuable commerce between Liberia and the United States may be developed if the two countries can be brought to see their true relations toward each other.

(Despatch of April 7, 1880, of Mr. Evarts, Secretary of State, to Mr. E. F. Noyes, American Minister to France, from MSS. Records of State Department. Cited Moore, *International Law Digest*, Vol. V. p. 767.)

The volume of Foreign Relations for 1879 devoted to the affairs of Liberia a much larger space than would seem to be warranted by the relative importance of that country. The reason for this is plain, and grows out of the peculiar relations which this country holds towards Liberia; and which are likely to become of increased importance. It is therefore quite suitable that the great powers should know that the United States publicly recognizes these relations, and is prepared to take every proper step to maintain them. In this view the publication of this correspondence seems not inopportune.

(The following statement, based entirely, as the notes indicate, on MSS. Records of the State Department, is taken from Moore, *International Law Digest*, Vol. V. pp. 772-773.)

In 1884, while negotiations between Great Britain and Liberia were in progress, for a settlement on the basis of the Mannah River, it was reported that Kent's Island, in that river, had been occupied by the French. In bringing this report confidentially to the attention of the French minister at Washington, Mr. Frelinghuysen, who was then Secretary of State, adverted to the fact that Liberia "was founded by negro settlers from the United States," and that, "although at no time a colony of this government, it began its career among the family of independent states as an offshoot of this country, and as such entitled to the sympathy and, when practicable, to the protection and encouragement of the United States." On the occasion of recent diplomatic disputes between Liberia and Great Britain, "this relationship of quasi-parentage" had, said Mr. Frelinghuysen, been recognized. It was not thought possible that France could seriously intend to assert a claim to territory so notoriously in dispute between those two powers, where no French right of possession

had before been recognized by either; but it was thought proper, said Mr. Frelinghuysen, to state, provisionally, that the United States would consider a French claim to territory in the Mannah River as threatening the integrity and tranquillity of Liberia, and also to intimate "the firm conviction and expectation" of the United States that, in view of its "intimate relationship" to Liberia, "any assertion of claim to any part of Liberia as defined by conventional limits, any enforcement of a settlement of alleged grievance, which might take place without the United States being allowed an opportunity to interpose their good offices to arrange the matter, could not but produce an unfavorable impression in the minds of the government and people of the United States." Mr. Frelinghuysen, Sec. of State, to Mr. Roustan, French min., Aug. 22, 1884, MS. Notes to France X. 15.

See, also, Mr. Frelinghuysen, Sec. of State, to Mr. Lowell, min., to England, No. 955, Aug. 22, 1884, MS. Inst. Gr. Br. XXVII. 289; Mr. Evarts, Sec. of State, to Mr. Noyes, min. to France, No. 227, April 21, 1880, MS. Inst. France, XX. 137.

(Despatch of Jan. 13, 1886, of Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, to Mr. McLane, American Minister to France. Foreign Relations, 1886, p. 298.)

You are desired to acquaint yourself with the former inquiries made at the time of the French attempt to control Kent Island, in the Manna River, and with the grounds on which our friendly intervention on behalf of Liberia was based. We exercise no protectorate over Liberia, but the circumstance that the Republic originated through the colonization of American citizens, and was established under the fostering sanction of the Government, gives us the right, as the next friend of Liberia, to aid her in preventing any encroachment of foreign powers on her territorial sovereignty, and in settling any dispute that may arise. The south-easterly boundary at the river San Pedro has never been questioned, and has the powerful sanction of general admission for many years.

(Despatch of July 12, 1886, Mr. Bayard to Mr. McLane, American Minister to France. Foreign Relations, 1886, p. 304.)

As this Government is deeply interested in preserving the territorial integrity of Liberia, it has learned with much concern that French officers have recently been carrying on intrigues with tribes within the long established and universally recognized boundaries of the Liberian Republic, and treating with said tribes as independent.

(Annual Message of President Cleveland, Dec. 6, 1886. Foreign Relations, 1886, p. vii.)

The weakness of Liberia and the difficulty of maintaining effective sovereignty over its outlying district, have exposed that republic to encroachment. It cannot be forgotten that this distant community is an offshoot of our own system, owing its origin to the associated benevolence of American citizens, whose praiseworthy efforts to create a nucleus of civilization in the dark continent have commanded respect and sympathy everywhere, especially in this country. Although a formal protectorate over Liberia is contrary to our traditional policy, the moral right and duty of the United States to assist in all proper ways in the maintenance of its integrity is obvious, and has been consistently announced during nearly half a century. I recommend that, in the reorganization of our Navy, a small vessel, no longer found adequate to our needs, be presented to Liberia, to be employed by it in the protection of its coastwise revenues.

(Despatch of March 22, 1887, of Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, to Mr. McLane, American Minister to France. Foreign Relations, 1887, p. 291.)

As mentioned in your note of February 3, 1886, to Mr. de Freycinet, Mr. Waddington in 1879, and Mr. Jules Ferry, in 1884, disclaimed that France had any design upon any territory which Liberia could claim.

It is not, therefore, apparent how, in view of these declarations, the French Government has been able to ratify in 1883 the treaty of 1868, nor to decree in 1885 the annexation of the villages which were recognized in 1883 as part of Liberia.

The relations of the United States Government with Liberia have not changed. It still feels justified in using its good offices in her behalf. These have been repeatedly exercised and its moral right to their exercise admitted by Great Britain in 1843 (see House Ex. Doc. No. 162, first session, Twenty-eighth Congress, Vol. 4, 1843, '44), and again in 1882, 1883, 1884, in the controversy concerning the northwestern boundary of Liberia, and by France in the answers of Mr. Waddington in 1879, and of M. Ferry in 1884, above referred to. We are unwilling to believe that it is now the intention of the French Government to act inconsistently with the spirit of these declarations.

You are requested to lay the facts proving the validity of the Liberian title to the territory in question before the French Government, accompanied by such observations as may seem, in your discretion, best cal-

culated to promote the end in view, namely, the recognition of Liberia's right. If it be impossible to obtain this, a definite declaration in regard to the line dividing French and Liberian territory may be made, which will fix a boundary such as France and all the powers can recognize and respect.

(Despatch of June 4, 1892, of Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, to Mr. Coolidge, American Minister to France. Foreign Relations, 1892, 166-167.)

The Government of France can not be unaware of the lively interest which the United States have in the welfare of Liberia. The fact has been made known on repeated occasions. On January 13, 1886, when it was reported that a French claim of jurisdiction westward of San Pedro River had been set up, my predecessor in office instructed the United States minister to France as follows:

We exercise no protectorate over Liberia, but the circumstance that that Republic originated through the colonization of American citizens and was established under the fostering sanction of this Government gives us the right, as the next friend of Liberia, to aid her in preventing any encroachment of foreign powers on her territorial sovereignty and in settling any disputes that may arise.

On a very recent occasion, also, the keen interest of the United States in the fortunes of Liberia, and our jealous concern that full respect should be paid to the independent and sovereign place of the Republic in the family of nations was conspicuously shown. During the African slave-trade conference of Brussels, in the session of June 16, 1890, the representative of the United States made an explicit declaration of the relation of the Republic of Liberia to the United States and the desire of this Government that the general act should contain an express stipulation to the effect that the Liberian Republic would be invited, as a sovereign power, to adhere to the treaty. The object in view was attained by recording, in the protocol of the session of June 20, 1890, a positive declaration of the sense of the conference concerning the sovereign status of Liberia. Baron Lambermont, president of the conference, in setting forth the position announced by the United States with regard to the engagements of the general act, eloquently stated the circumstances which led, not only the United States, but all those interested in the cause of humanity in Africa, to attach great importance to the co-operation of the independent and free state of Liberia for the realization of the objects of the conference. "All the world knows," he said, "the history of the Republic of Liberia. Founded with an object of afford-

ing a home to certain freed American slaves desiring to return to the mother country, it was destined at the same time to fulfill a civilizing mission upon the Guinea coast. This creation has produced happy results. It began, it is true, under great difficulties, but this often happens in the early life of new states. This young Republic none the less deserves the sympathies of all those who are interested in the cause of humanity in Africa. It is an independent and free state. Moreover, the conference has every interest in associating it with its work, not only because of the mission Liberia is called upon to fulfill, but also because it is also in a position to lend indispensable assistance toward the execution of several of the clauses of the general act." The British delegate, Lord Vivian, welcomed this declaration of the President of the conference, adding that the place of Liberia had already been fixed among the independent states which were to be invited to adhere to the general act. These important declarations stand, therefore, as voicing the general sentiment of the conference and as recognizing with peculiar solemnity and frank spontaneity the position which the Republic of Liberia has won as a free, independent, sovereign, and equal member of the family of nations, and as an important factor in the development and civilization of Africa.

The position of Liberia in Africa is peculiar and almost isolated. It is one of the few independent sovereignties of that vast continent, and is the only one on the whole Atlantic seaboard. It has exercised sovereign attributes for half a century, competently contracting treaties with foreign states, and preserving its sphere of legitimate control peacefully among the interior tribes and along the coast, in virtue of formal treaties of cession dating back to its earliest history. At no time has Liberia trespassed on the domain of its neighbors or invaded their comparatively recent sphere of influence. Ever paying due respect to the rights of other sovereignties, its attitude has entitled it to unquestioning respect for its own vested rights, and to especial sympathy for its fruitful efforts to fulfill what Baron Lambermont has well called "*Une mission civilisatrice pour la cote de Guinee.*"

Occupying the position, as Liberia does, and bound to the United States by special ties, which, strong in their origin, have been further strengthened by half a century of intimate relationship, it is apparent that this Government and people could not behold unmoved, much less acquiesce in, any proceeding on the part of the neighbors of Liberia which might assume to dispose of any territory justly claimed and long

admitted to belong to the Republic, without the concurrence and consent of Liberia as an independent and sovereign contractant.

It is proper that France, whose colonial establishments and spheres of protection adjoin the jurisdiction of Liberia to the eastward, should be afforded an opportunity of frankly disclaiming any intention to encroach upon the recognized territory of Liberia.

By the President's direction, you are instructed to bring these views to the attention of the minister of foreign affairs, and to inform him at the same time that the Government of the United States does not accept as valid or acquiesce in the protectorates announced by Mr. Desprez's note of November 3, 1891, or by Mr. Patenotre's later note of January 26, 1892, so far as the same may relate to territory pertaining to the Republic of Liberia westward of the San Pedro River, unless it shall appear that Liberia is herself a consenting party to such transactions.

The President is so firmly convinced that the just rights of independent Liberia will be duly respected by all, that he is indisposed to consider the possible contingency of such expansion of the territorial claims of other powers in Africa as might call for a more positive assertion of the duty of the United States.

(Despatch of July 12, 1892, of Mr. Foster, Secretary of State, to Mr. Lincoln, American Minister to Great Britain. Foreign Relations, 1892, 229.)

Sir Julian was told that the position of this Government as the next friend of a republic founded in Africa by American enterprise was well known, and had on former occasions been evidenced by our frank and friendly intervention, not only with France but with Great Britain as well, to avert any diminution of such just rights to African territory as Liberia possessed, and that due representation would be made against the apprehended encroachments of France westward of the long recognized boundary of the San Pedro River.

(Annual Message, Dec. 6, 1892, of President Harrison. Foreign Relations, 1892, xiv.)

In consequence of the action of the French Government in proclaiming a protectorate over certain tribal districts of the west coast of Africa, eastward of the San Pedro River, which has long been regarded as the southeastern boundary of Liberia, I have felt constrained to make protest against this encroachment upon the territory of a Republic which was founded by citizens of the United States and toward which this country has for many years held the intimate relation of a friendly counselor.

(Confidential promemoria, of March 13, 1897, of Mr. Sherman, Secretary of State. Senate Document 666, 60th Congress, 2d Session.)

Having reference to the confidential promemoria submitted by his excellency the British ambassador, on the 8th of March, last, and being desirous, in view of the circumstance of that Republic being an offshoot of the community of the United States, and to show toward it a kind spirit and all proper sympathy, the United States for its part declares the special interest taken by it in the independence of the Republic of Liberia and the concern it must feel should any prospect of its absorption by a foreign power develop in the future.

The Government of the United States is gratified to perceive from the British promemoria of March 8 last that Her Majesty's Government, entertains a similar special interest in the independence of the Liberian Republic.

(Report of Jan. 18, 1909, of Mr. Root, Secretary of State, to the President. Senate Document 666, 60th Congress, 2nd Session.)

It is unnecessary to argue that the duty of the United States toward the unfortunate victims of the slave trade was not completely performed by landing them upon the coast of Africa, and that our nation rests under the highest obligation to assist them, so far as they need assistance, toward the maintenance of free, orderly, and prosperous civil society.

(Special Message of Jan. 19, 1909, of President Roosevelt to Congress. Senate Document 666, 60th Congress, 1st Session.)

The relations of the United States to Liberia are such as to make it an imperative duty for us to do all in our power to help the little Republic which is struggling against such adverse conditions.

(Report of March 22, 1910, of Mr. Knox, Secretary of State, to the President. Senate Document 457, 61st Congress, 2nd Session.)

The report of the commission [to Liberia] and its recommendations have received most attentive study on the part of the Department of State and the conclusion is reached that action in the suggested lines is not only expedient but in the nature of a duty to a community which owes its existence to the United States and is the nation's ward.

(Special message of March 25, 1910, of President Taft. Senate Document 457, 61st Congress, 2nd Session.)

I cordially concur in the views of the Secretary of State and trust that the policy of the United States toward Liberia will be so shaped

as to fulfill our national duty to the Liberian people, who, by the efforts of this Government and through the material enterprise of American citizens, were established on the African coast and set on the pathway to sovereign statehood.

ANNEXES TO THE ARTICLE "THE SANITARY COMMISSION — THE RED CROSS."

Order of the Secretary of War Appointing the Sanitary Commission.

WAR DEPARTMENT, }
WASHINGTON, June 9, 1861. }

The Secretary of War has learned, with great satisfaction, that at the instance and in pursuance of the suggestion of the Medical Bureau, in a communication to this office, dated May 22, 1861, Henry W. Bellows, D. D., Prof. A. D. Bache, LL. D., Prof. Jeffries Wyman, M. D., Prof. Wolcott Gibbs, M. D., W. H. Van Buren, M. D., Samuel G. Howe, M. D., R. C. Wood, Surgeon U. S. A., G. W. Cullum, U. S. A., Alexander E. Shiras, U. S. A., have mostly consented, in connection with such others as they may choose to associate with them, to act as "A Commission of Inquiry and Advice in respect of the Sanitary Interests of the United States Forces," and without remuneration from the Government. The Secretary has submitted their patriotic proposal to the consideration of the President, who directs the acceptance of the services thus generously offered.

The Commission, in connection with a Surgeon of the U. S. A., to be designated by the Secretary, will direct its inquiries to the principles and practices connected with the inspection of recruits and enlisted men; the sanitary condition of the volunteers; to the means of preserving and restoring the health, and of securing the general comfort and efficiency of troops; to the proper provision of cooks, nurses, and hospitals; and to other subjects of like nature.

The Commission will frame such rules and regulations, in respect of the objects and modes of its inquiry, as may seem best adapted to the purpose of its constitution, which, when approved by the Secretary, will be established as general guides of its investigations and action.